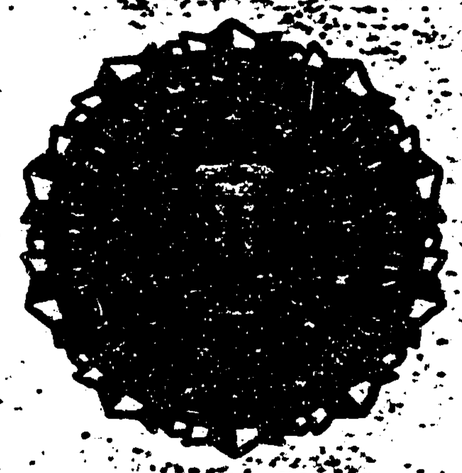
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THE MENACE OF COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY

July 1955

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PREFACE

This monograph is a brief study of some of the more salient elements constituting the menace of Communism in the United States in 1955.

The purpose of this study is to set forth a digest of certain current major activities of the Communist Party, USA, plus the intelligence efforts of foreign Communists and their representatives presently operating within the United States.

With these facts portrayed, the purpose is then expanded to include a consideration of the Loyalty-Security Program, culminating in an evaluation of its need as it relates to the present Communist menace in the United States. This menace is viewed from both a national and an international perspective.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

Communism remains in 1955 a security menace to the United States. Its origin though foreign to our culture has adroitly cloaked itself with Americanism. Its principles are portrayed as being universal. Its strategy and tactics are being deceptively woven into the rights, freedoms and opportunities which constitute the essence of democracy. Communism proceeds to enlist the aid of innocent non-Communists knowing that as a minority force it must be built ever greater with non-Communists' hands. The open and aboveground Party is greatly restricted and engages in relatively few activities. The underground organization and front network are steadily growing and conduct the large majority of important Communist activities in the United States today. The over-all operation of this subversive force threatens to divide, confuse and weaken the opposition to Communism in our Nation. The allegiance of Communism in the United States to foreign Communist nations headed by Soviet Russia is as strong as ever. An extremely discreet, but none the less, effective liaison is maintained between local and foreign Communist leaders.

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Communism in this country continues to be a factor to reckon with relative to the current intelligence activities and possible sabotage attempts of foreign Communist nations. On evaluating as a whole the combined foreign and local operations of Communism, it becomes evident that the need for a comprehensive national security program in 1955 is as great as, if not greater than, it has been in any previous peacetime years.

B. Conclusions

1. Communism in the United States is foreign in origin, bogus in its claims to philosophic universalism; yet, continues to be too often successful with its deceptive strategy and tactics.

2. Communism in action in the United States in 1955 is marked by an unquenchable revolutionary will for power, expediency, opportunism and ruthlessness, which too often is furthered by nonthinking or confused non-Communist citizens of unquestioned loyalty.

3. The fanatical hard-core membership of the Communist Party, USA, is approximately 23,000. This membership is concentrated in the population and industrial centers of the United States with over 80 per cent of the entire national membership being located in six key states—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and California. In addition to the active membership, it is estimated that there are close to a quarter of a million persons who, directly or indirectly, are influenced by the programs of the Communist Party, USA, with their geographical concentration corresponding to that of Party members.

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4. The security menace of the Communist Party, USA, cannot be measured in terms of numbers. It is to be measured in terms of the Party's influence over the masses, ability to create controversy leading to confusion and disunity, penetration of specific channels in American life where public opinion is molded, and espionage and sabotage potential.

5. Communist leadership in 1955 is of a twofold nature: open and concealed, with the latter assuming more and more importance.

6. The large majority of Communist activities is today carried on by the Communist front network and by the Communist underground, with the open Party organization being relatively inactive. The Communist front network is steadily growing and consists of some 270 known or suspected fronts in July, 1955. The Communist underground is continuing to expand and may absorb additional Party membership if necessary.

7. Infiltration once again has become the main tactic of American Communists. This tactic is directed toward organized labor; government; staffs of magazines, newspapers and technical journals; publishing concerns; book-reviewing field; entertainment industry; faculties of high schools, colleges and universities; civic, fraternal, educational, social, economic, sociological, historical, scientific societies; and political organizations.

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8. The "peace" theme adopted by the Communists has proven to be a very shrewd and relatively effective theme around which to entice and organize innocent non-Communists behind Party programs, and to serve as a means for aiding and abetting their infiltration tactic.

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9. There is no evidence that American Communists are conducting sabotage today. However, there is in the United States a compact force of Communists who are willing, able and have the knowledge to conduct some form of sabotage in the event of a grave national emergency.

10. The principal Communist press organs being published today are: Daily Worker, The Worker, Daily People's World, Political Affairs, and Masses and Mainstream. Their combined circulation is 60,385.

11. The Communist movement in the United States is financed by dues payments, pledges, fund drives, special assessments, front organizations and by a few wealthy persons who contribute generously.

12. The 1955 program of the American Communists presents itself in the guise of "democracy," peacefully seeking to reach its objectives.

13. Communist-Soviet Bloc intelligence activities and plans in the United States confront us daily. These intelligence agents can rely upon American Communists for assistance.

14. Communist intelligence targets in the United States are many and varied necessitating security alertness relating to: scientific research, atomic energy developments and installations, Army, Navy and Air Force defensive and offensive facilities, coastal safeguards, harbor control, radar equipment, industrial and armed services secrets, intelligence agencies of the Government, embassies and legations of non-Communist nations, foreign policy, location and extent of important national resources and the transportation system.

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15. In view of the continual expansion and growing strength of world Communism and because Communism in the United States is an inseparable part of and a tool of world Communism, the need for a highly effective national security program in the United States in 1955 is a very real need,to be ignored only at the risk of placing in serious jeopardy the national defense plans of this Nation.

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COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES

International Background

Communism in the United States is an importation. It is not indigenous to our cultural soil. It is the outgrowth of the lives, thoughts and deeds of four men, none of whom were Americans. These men were Karl Marx (1818-1883), the "originator"; Frederick Engels (1820-1895), the "collaborator"; Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870-1924), the "developer"; and Joseph Stalin (1879-1953), the "continuer."

It is to these men and their ideas, organizations, institutions, followers and revolutionary social forces that American Communists give unswerving allegiance. The official position on this issue, taken from the beginning by American Communists, was crystallized in unequivocal language in "Resolutions Adopted by the Eleventh National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, in session, May 30-June 2, 1940." This "Resolution" declared:

> "We are proud to bear the high title of member of the Communist Party of the United States of America. Let us raise high the banner of proletarian internationalism. We are proud to be associated with the Communist International. We are proud to be associated with the greatest thinkers and heroes of all history and of all lands--with Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We are proud to be associated with Dimitroff,

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Thaelmann, Thorez, Gallacher, Diaz, and Pasionaria, and with the militant leaders of the rising young Latin American working class and Communist movements--Blas Roca, Encina, Labarca, Prestes, and with the great Filipino leader, Evangelists, with Tim Buck of Canada, and many others. We are proud to be associated in the ranks of proletarian internationalism with the greatest thinker, leader and builder of our time, who carried the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin to new heights, to the victorious establishment of socialism, to the period of transition to communism, to the safeguarding of the Soviet Union and its achievements against the furious dying struggles of a hostile capitalist world--the great Stalin."

This same position is maintained in 1955 by all members of the Communist Party, USA. For example, the new program of the Communist Party, USA, formulated in 1954 and issued in September of that year in a pamphlet deceptively entitled "The American Way to Jobs, Peace, Equal Rights and Democracy," advises as follows:

"We proclaim our fraternity with all peoples who have pioneered the new frontiers of human history toward Socialism--with the heroic, trailblazing people and government of the Soviet Union, the grandeur of whose achievements inspire all toiling humanity, with the great revolutionary masses of China and with those other peoples of Europe and Asia who have since taken the path to Socialism...."

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Thinking in these same channels, William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, in February, 1955, repeated in essence this identification of American Communists with other Communists of the world,declaring:

> "...the Soviet Union, People's China, and the People's Democracies generally, are at present going into a fresh period of immense political prestige among the toilers of the world....Nothing the capitalists can do will be able to keep the Socialist sun henceforth from shining clearer and brighter over the face of the earth or to prevent the workers from experiencing its warming glow."

Universal Philosophy

The philosophy of Communism in the United States and elsewhere is dialectical and historical materialism existing within the broader framework of the alleged "science" of Marxism-Leninism. The term Marxism-Leninism is used by Communists as an over-all expression designating the "enrichment" and the "development" of Communist philosophy above and beyond the original content of this

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philosophy as formulated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. It is assumed to have universal application.

The essential ideas included in this philosophy promulgated by American Communists are: (1) autodynamic matter in constant motion constitutes eternal and revolutionary reality, therefore, God does not exist; (2) matter being primary, mind is secondary and contingent, hence there is no soul destined for immortality, as man in essence is at one with nature and perishes at death like any beast of the field; (3) history is a materialistic process, a record of class struggles (e.g. property owners vs. the propertyless, the ruler vs. the ruled and the employer vs. the employee), and all human institutions; political, social, legal, educational, cultural, moral and religious have their real origin in, and are ultimately molded and determined by, the economic factor or "modes of production"; (4) the traditional freedom of will does not exist, for man is free only to cooperate with "economic necessity"; (5) all non-Communist governments fail to correspond with reality and must be abolished and replaced by the Communist dictatorship of the proletariat which does correspond; (6) a revolutionary theory and method and a revolution are justifiable means for the abolishment of non-Communist governments and for the establishment

of Communism; (7) all religious and all non-Communist moral principles alienate man from his material nature and must be discarded in favor of no religion and a morality based on proletarian utility; and (8) opposition to Communism everywhere in the world must be thoroughly and ruthlessly crushed in order that the dictatorship of the proletariat can "wither away," making possible a world Communist society, which is to be classless, stateless and godless with all property used in production being owned in common, leading ultimately to total communization.

National Origin and History

The Communist Party, USA, originated on September 1, 1919, at Chicago, Illinois. It was born in conflict and division and has prospered in this atmosphere ever since.

From 1919 to 1930 the newly formed Party suffered growing pains related to the severe discipline of the Communist International with which it became affiliated. Internal dissension was crushed. External defiance of the United States Government was encouraged. Prosecution met this subversive action. The Party went underground, emerging in 1923 to reach full aboveground status in 1925, while at the same time retaining its underground structure.

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From 1930 to 1940, the Communist Party, USA, exploited the depression to the fullest extent as it strengthened its foundation and expanded. The first half of this decade was marked by a continuance of a combination of relative independence plus boring-from-within tactics combined with open, direct and militant approaches. The last half of this decade witnessed the refining and systematizing of infiltration methods which resulted from a new tactical line set by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935. This gave rise to the united front against fascism, later to be complicated by the formation of the Nazi-Soviet Pact of August, 1939.

To avoid legal sanctions, the Communist Party, USA, disaffiliated from the Communist International in 1940, while at the same time remaining with it in spirit and purpose.

The decade of 1940 to 1950 saw continuing efforts to strengthen and develop the Communist Party, USA. As a wartime tactical maneuver, the Party under Earl Browder dissolved and became the Communist Political Association in May of 1944, but was reconstituted in July of 1945, under the leadership of William Z. Foster. Immediately the Party increased its old militant and subversive character, making

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legal action necessary in 1948 to check this menace to our national security.

On July 20, 1948, a Federal indictment was returned against the twelve members of the National Board of the Communist Party, USA, with William Z. Foster later being severed on the ground of illness. These Communist leaders were indicted under Sections 2 and 3 of the Act of June 28, 1940 (Section 10, Title 18, United States Code), commonly known as the Smith Act. They were charged with having conspired together and with others relative to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence.

The trial opened in New York January 17, 1949, and closed on September 23, 1949. On October 14, 1949, the jury returned the verdict of guilty to the eleven defendants. Sentences were given on October 21, 1949, which were appealed but upheld by the United States Court of Appeals, New York, on August 1, 1950, and by the United States Supreme Court on June 4, 1951.

Prosecution statistics as of July, 1955, are as follows:

Total number of Communists indicted	134	
" " " " arrested	131	
" " " Communist fugitives	5	
" " " Communists convicted	88	
" " " " severed from trial	5	
" " " " acquitted	3	
" " " sentences	364	years and 6 months
" " " fines	$ 435, 500	

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The results produced by these prosecutions of Communist leaders are of two main kinds, general and specific.

The general results are two in number: (1) a demonstration of the fact that Communist subversion can be met by democratic legal procedures operating wholly within the constitutional framework; and (2) that the overwhelming majority of the American people are strongly in favor of curtailing the Communist menace by investigations leading to prosecutions.

The specific results are nine in number: (1) disintegration of the National Board; (2) disruption of the National Committee; (3) depletion of the Party's funds; (4) utilization of the Party's time and energy preparing court defenses, thereby reducing materially its open activities; (5) breaking up of the publicly known top leadership of the Party; (6) disarrangement of the secondary leadership; (7) serious damage to the Party's dangerous strategic industrial placement program; (8) the throwing of the rank-and-file members into a state of confusion and uncertainty; and (9) placing of the Party in such a position that the stamp of approval placed by it on its fugitives demonstrated to the American public that the Party is not

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an innocent political Party, as it pretended to be in court trials, but rather a conspiratorial organization, as the Government has long maintained.

Despite the prosecutions and the solid opposition given the Communist Party, USA, by the American people, it continues to exist actively and remains in 1955, as this study will show, a very real security menace to the United States. This is true, especially in the light of aggressive world Communism.

Present Headquarters and Organization

Operations and activities of the Communist Party, USA, are directed and coordinated from its national headquarters at 268 Seventh Avenue, New York City. This headquarters' leadership has divided the country into 30 district organizations which cover the 48 states and the territories of Hawaii and Alaska. Only four districts now maintain open headquarters as a token of the Party's legality--those in New York City, Philadelphia, Detroit and San Francisco. Each district is further broken down into state, county, city, regional, sectional, club and group organizations. The size of each group is limited to from three to five members for security purposes.

The organization of the Communist Party, USA, now includes stringent security precautions, some of which are: discontinuation of membership records; limitation of meetings to no more than a few members; frequent change of meeting places; circumspect use of telephones, telegraph and mail; employment of surveillance countermeasures; use of code names and initials in conversation and correspondence; use of couriers to transmit documents and messages; and many related precautions.

Numerical Strength

There has been a sharp decline in the membership of the Communist Party, USA, since the close of World War II. This means basically that the Party has purged and rid itself of those members concerning whom it had doubts. Further, other members, without having abandoned their Communist convictions, have dropped out because of the pressure of public opinion, or because of a fear of the possibility of prosecution as a result of legislation enacted on local, state and federal levels.

As it exists today, the Communist Party, USA, has stripped itself to a fanatical, dedicated, hard-core membership estimated at the end of 1954 at approximately 23,000. All these members are potential

saboteurs, espionage agents or disruptionists willing to accept enemy orders in the event of a national emergency. This membership is concentrated in the population and industrial centers of the country, over 80 per cent of the entire national membership being located in just six states--New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and California. Approximately half of all members are residents of New York City itself.

The Communists claim that for every Party member there are ten others ready, willing and able to do the Party's work. Thus, on the basis of this ratio, the Communist movement in the United States probably involves close to a quarter of a million persons in its work and activities at the present time. It can be seen, therefore, that the size of the Communist Party, USA, itself is relatively unimportant because of the conspiratorial dedication and fanaticism that Communists have for their movement, and the singleness of purpose, rigid discipline and monolithic direction under which they function. The actual membership of the Communist Party, USA, is grossly disproportionate to the real menace it presents as measured by its influence and its ability to infiltrate all spheres and phases of American life.

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It would be unwise to forget that when the Bolsheviks gained power during the Red Revolution of 1917, they had only 80,000 adherents inside Russia. In all other nations where Communist dictatorships have seized total power, they have done so as small minority movements.

Influence of the Party

Mr. William Z. Foster, the highest ranking public authority in the Communist Party, USA, openly admits that the strength of Communism in the United States far exceeds its membership. Mr. Foster says:

> "...But the influence of the Party stretches far and wide beyond the limits of its actual membership...."

Communism will be constructed with non-Communists' heads and hands. This is an old Communist principle. Party leaders recognize clearly that its organization is small and its members limited in many different ways. It knows that alone it cannot win or conquer the United States. The influence of the Party, therefore, must go far beyond Communist

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membership to penetrate and set into motion the non-Communist masses as well as the more specialized groups who have much to do with molding public opinion.

Organization as a Weapon

Organization is a weapon to Communists. First, the great masses of good, sound, loyal American citizens must be deceptively organized in Communist fronts, built around timely issues and directed by the Party. Second, the specialized groups consisting of elected officeholders (local, state and national), educators, scientists, labor union leaders, lawyers, doctors, authors, actors and important policy makers of local, state and national governments must be organized or at least influenced to the point where they will show some sympathy for Communist groups and will encourage our leaders to take a soft official attitude toward them. All this can be accomplished through skillful organization.

Leadership Today

Plural leadership exists today in the Communist Party, USA. There are two main types. One is the so-called "open" leadership, consisting

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of William Z. Foster, National Chairman, who is assisted by a select group of followers who also openly acknowledge their Party affiliations. The second type is the underground leadership which is gradually assuming more and more authority, power and importance. Its responsibilities are multiplying as its jurisdiction within the Party expands. This underground leadership is presently engaged in carrying on necessary clandestine activities and in building an elaborate, intricate, national subterranean organization which is expected to guarantee the survival of Communism in the United States, no matter how severe, varied, and widespread the opposition to it becomes. Further, it is preparing to carry on the entire work of the Party in the event it is no longer possible or feasible to continue the "open" form of the Party.

The two types of leadership have corresponding organizational forms. The "open" leadership is expressed through the national administrative committee, consisting of: Claude Lightfoot, chairman; Martha Stone, organization secretary; Albert Blumberg, legislative activities; George Watt, trade-union matters; Phil Bart, finances; Leon Wofsy, youth matters; and Saul Wellman, Anton Krchmarek and Louis Burnham, Negro matters.

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The national underground leadership consists of a national or leading committee for the underground of the Communist Party, USA, which has the responsibility for the over-all direction of underground activities. Immediately below the national underground body, there exist regional organizations or committees which serve to further implement the decisions of the top underground body.

These underground regional organizations have been established in the East, Midwest, Rocky Mountain area and on the Pacific Coast. The work of one region is linked to the work of the others.

Close liaison is maintained between the "open" national administrative committee and the national underground leadership.

While the "open" leadership of the Party function as figureheads, the ultimate responsibility for the direction and control of the Party is vested in its underground leadership. All major political and tactical decisions relating to the Communist Party, USA, today are handled by the underground leadership and are relayed to the open membership and to the public through the open leadership.

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Infiltration of Trade-Unions

From the time of its organization in 1919, the Communist Party, USA, has been engaged in a continuous attempt to gain control of the American labor union movement, for Communist theory regards the trade-union as the most elementary form of working-class organization. American Communists never tire of repeating to each other V. I. Lenin's declaration:

> "...It is necessary to be able to withstand all this, to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even--if need be--to resort to all sorts of stratagems, manoeuvres and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuges in order to penetrate the trade-unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs...."

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The Communist Party, therefore, considers itself to be one hundred per cent committed to capturing American trade-unions. To do this requires Communists to be identified with the working class. This relationship between the Party and the working class is systematically expanded by recruiting the most militant members of the working class--particularly from among the trade-unions in the basic industries--into the Party.

It is clear that control of a large trade-union, especially one in a basic industry, would place the Communist Party, USA, in a strategic position to disrupt and even paralyze the economic life of the Nation and cause considerable unrest by instigating strikes. During a period of national emergency, Communist control of a union would increase seriously the danger of sabotage.

Under normal conditions, however, Communist control of any union means that the Party can divert union funds to its own purpose; turn the union newspaper into a Communist propaganda organ; direct whatever educational program the union offers its members; and generally manipulate the union as a pressure group to lend support to the Communist program.

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Communist influence today in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) on a national scale is negligible, although the Party does exert substantial authority in some CIO locals. The center of Communist influence is in unions of the maritime, mining (other than coal), electrical, communications and food industries which were expelled from the CIO in 1949-50 for being Communist-dominated. One of these unions--the United Electrical,

Radio and Machine Workers of America--represents a large portion of the employees in the important electrical industry. Another--the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union--exercises almost life-and-death control over vital Pacific Coast commerce. Still another--the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers--speaks for workers employed in the production of copper and zinc essential to the national defense. The Communists plan to use their power in these unions as a working base from which to extend their domination to other unions.

The Communist Control Act of 1954 provides that the Subversive Activities Control Board may determine, after an appropriate hearing, that an organization is Communist-infiltrated. A union so labeled would thereupon lose its legal standing before the National Labor Relations Board. To avoid the consequences of this law, leaders of Communist-dominated unions generally have been seeking admission by merger or other devices to non-Communist AFL or CIO unions.

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For example, negotiations are now under way to complete the amalgamation of the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union,

Independent, and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL. Communist leaders are also said to be favoring a consolidation of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, Independent, and the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO.

Industrial Concentration and Colonization

The Communist Party, USA, in accordance with its claim to be "the political Party of the working class," has always been primarily interested in recruiting members from among workers in basic industry, and, since World War II, has greatly emphasized its program of industrial concentration.

A complete enumeration of the various industries designated as concentration points by the Party would include practically every major industry; however, special emphasis has always been placed on vital or basic industries, such as steel, automobile, communications and transportation. Communist control of such vital unions could be disastrous for this country in time of war or even in time of peace.

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As a concomitant of its industrial concentration policy, the Party is resorting to its plan for colonizing the Nation's basic industries. This program consists of transplanting relatively unknown Communists (colonizers) from their usual habitats to new areas for the purpose of securing new employment in basic industries, where they generally assume aliases, conceal their Communist affiliations and represent themselves as "liberals" among their fellow employees for the purpose of subtly advancing Party objectives. This clever colonization plan is in full operation today.

Many of these "colonizers" have college degrees in engineering; others have left college or given up higher-paying professional-type jobs to become manual laborers on an assembly line, on the Party's instructions. In some cases, the Party has considered employment in a basic industry as sufficient justification for assigning its members so employed to the underground apparatus. These colonizers generally keep in contact with a leading underground figure.

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To step up the Party's colonization program in one highly industrialized area, a number of young couples in the last few years have been moved from another area to the point of colonization. Immediate

targets are the steel, steel fabrication and oil industries. A leading underground figure is selected to be in charge of the colonization of each designated area.

Through this plan, the Communist Party, USA, hopes to establish a nucleus of Communists, unidentified as such, within the labor movement to remain "on tap," so to speak, for whatever use may be deemed necessary by the Party, now and in the future. It is an insidious plan fraught with industrial danger for the future, should it be successful.

Sabotage Potential

There is no known evidence that American Communists have been ordered to commit specific acts of sabotage at the present time, nor is it known that any explicit sabotage activity is being currently attempted by individual Communists on their own initiative. There is, however, abundant evidence to indicate that the Communist Party, USA, would undoubtedly attempt to engage in systematic sabotage in the event of hostilities between the United States and Communist nations. The obligation and duty to defend the Communist nations are inherent in Party membership, and members have been conditioned to accept sabotage as not only justified but as a duty

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if it will benefit and serve the cause of world Communism. In particular, they are required to defend and advance the objectives of Soviet Russia on every occasion.

Many of the estimated 23,000 Communists in the United States today constitute a potential threat to the Nation's vital industries or facilities because of their training or employment.

These individuals are potentially dangerous because of: (1) past acts of violence committed during strikes or in fomenting disruption among workers in industrial plants; (2) training in the Lenin School in Russia to carry out Soviet plans; (3) military service during which they received training which could be useful in Communist plans to overthrow this Government by force and violence; or (4) access by reason of employment or knowledge relative to industries or facilities vital to the national defense and welfare.

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The Communists have given careful thought to, and can be expected to single out, the following as sabotage targets: basic and heavy industries; transportation facilities; communications systems; power plants; armed forces installations; and sources of food and water supply. Moreover, the Communists can be expected to attempt various types of

nonphysical sabotage, such as instigating strikes, inciting racial disturbances, spreading false rumors about the military, wartime profiteering, corruption in government, et cetera, all aimed at creating, if possible, a state of complete chaos in the Nation.

To visualize the potentially devastating and far-reaching effects of the strike as a sabotage weapon, it is only necessary to consider the impact of a strike which could be called by such a union as the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America representing workers engaged in production and research on some of the country's most advanced and technical weapons; or the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union which could cripple all shipping in west coast ports and in Hawaii. Such strikes, properly timed and directed, could be disastrous and paralyzing body blows to the country's national defense. In addition to this, American Communists can be expected to cooperate with and to synchronize their efforts with foreign Communist commando-like thrusts at the United States.

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Press and Propaganda

The Communist Party in the United States has always been exceedingly active in the publishing and propaganda fields. At the present

time, the principal publications which serve as vehicles for the Communist Party are the following:

Daily Worker, east coast daily newspaper (9,129 average circulation)

The Worker, Sunday edition of the Daily Worker (25,470 average circulation)

Daily People's World, west coast daily newspaper (7,303 average circulation)

Political Affairs, monthly Marxist theoretical magazine (10,000 average circulation)

Masses & Mainstream, monthly cultural magazine (6,500 average circulation)

Communists rely heavily for direction and guidance on the so-called "Aesopian language" or Communist double talk contained in these publications, especially in these times of expanded underground operations. From these newspapers and periodicals, members are able to ascertain, at any given time, the correct Party line on local, national and international issues.

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Moreover, many Communist Party districts issue publications of their own dealing with local issues and affairs which are designed and directed for distribution in the immediate areas in which they are published.

Supplementing the afore-mentioned English language publications, the Party line is echoed in a number of foreign language publications which are specifically oriented toward practically every nationality group of any size in the United States.

In addition to these newspapers and periodicals, New Century Publishers and International Publishers, both located in New York City, publish a never-ending stream of Communist books and pamphlets on all sorts of current issues and questions, as well as reprints of the major writings of leading Communists, both living and dead, throughout the world.

The volume of Communist propaganda is illustrated in the dissemination of the 1954 Program of the Communist Party, USA. Some 650,000 copies of the draft Program were distributed in the Spring of 1954. When the final draft was adopted in August, 1954, 350,000 copies were printed in pamphlet form.



In connection with the Party's press and propaganda work, it is significant that for the past few years the Party has been caching typewriters, mimeograph machines and even printing presses, as well as supplies of paper and ink, for possible future use under grave emergency conditions.

Front Organizations

Communist front organizations are the media through which the Communists in a deceptive manner exploit the non-Communist masses to further the Party's revolutionary aims and objectives. In recent years, the Party has come to rely increasingly on front organizations as vehicles to promote the cause of Communism in the United States. The bulk of the Communist Party's mass work--fund raising, petition drives, agitation, propaganda, legal defense, et cetera--formerly conducted openly and publicly, has now been taken over by front groups, many of which have been especially created for these purposes. It is reported that there are now approximately 270 known or suspected Communist and Communist-infiltrated organizations in existence and functioning in the United States.

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Front groups are formed in every sphere of activity which the Communists assess as important or significant, ranging from organizations in defense of Soviet foreign policy to groups agitating for a reduction in rents. The Communists use front organizations for expressing and publicizing every protest in an adroit manner designed to divide, confuse and weaken all opposition to Communism.

Generally speaking, fronts are created in three ways: First, there are those which are planned as such by the Communists from their inception. The present-day National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions was formed in this way. Second, those formed through a coalition in which the Communists openly join hands with non-Communist organizations at an organization's origin but eventually take it over completely, as they did the American Youth Congress in the 1930's. Third, those existing non-Communist organizations infiltrated until the Communists gain complete domination.

The Communists have always focused their attention on various important and influential non-Communist, so-called "mass" organizations, endeavoring to infiltrate them and transform them into useful instruments of the Communist Party. For years, as a case in point, the Party has been seeking unsuccessfully to gain a substantial foothold in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

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The Communists ordinarily take pains to conceal, as far as possible, the Communist character of their various front organizations. Organization names are generally highly innocuous or even patriotic in tone and, for the most part, there is not the slightest suggestion of revolution or

un-Americanism in their names. Seemingly orthodox and meritorious aims and objectives are also characteristic of Communist fronts. Communists use as many notable and distinguished persons--educators, scientists, clergymen, writers--as possible to serve as window dressing and to make an impression on the unwary and the unsuspecting. The presence of prominent persons in various capacities in fronts gives such organizations an outward appearance of credence, character and prestige which they would not otherwise possess.

Some idea of the enormous amount of funds collected and the vast quantity of propaganda material disseminated by a Communist front organization can be gained from the activities of the front called the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case (NCSJRC). Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were sentenced to death and Morton Sobell to 30 years' imprisonment in the United States District Court in New York City in April, 1951, for conspiring to commit espionage for the Soviet Union.

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During the period from November, 1951, through August, 1953, the NCSJRC:

1. Realized income in excess of $300,000 from contributions, collections, rallies and other sources.

2. Printed and distributed approximately 6,000,000 leaflets and pamphlets, about 500,000 petitions and postcards, and thousands of form letters.

3. Inserted some 250 separate advertisements for a total of 40,000 lines in various newspapers throughout the country.

Thus, through the utilization of an ever-changing network of fronts, the Communists are able to carry on their devious and diverse operations and activities behind a facade of legitimacy and legality.

Funds

Funds are obviously essential for the continued operations and activities of the Communist Party, USA. Public and private statements by Party officials in the past would seem to indicate that the Communist Party, USA, has been perennially on the verge of bankruptcy. Yet it is a fact that the Party has

never approached actual bankruptcy, and these announcements regarding the alleged precarious financial condition of the Party appear to be designed principally to stimulate increased contributions from its members and to lull the anti-Communist opposition into a false sense of security.

Nevertheless, since 1948, the Communist Party, USA, has been relatively hard pressed financially because of the tremendous costs incurred by the trials and convictions of 88 national and district leaders by the Federal Government for violation of the Smith Act; the Party's hearing before the Subversive Activities Control Board under the Internal Security Act of 1950; deportation hearings of a number of Communists; and maintaining and operating the Party's underground organization. The trial alone of the 13 Communist leaders convicted in the 1952 Smith Act trial in New York City is said to have cost the Party approximately $7,000 a week.

Operating expenses of the Communist Party are heavy. At the beginning of 1954, for example, the New York State organization--the largest district in the country--estimated its expenditures for the year at $275,000.

The sources of funds for the Communist Party in the United States are many and varied. There are indications that the underground apparatus in this country is now receiving financial subsidies from the Soviet Union. But the major sources of income for the American Communist Party are: dues payments, pledges, fund drives, special assessments, public affairs, front groups and "angels."

"Angels"--those rich Party members, sympathizers or dupes who make sizeable contributions--have long been a fruitful source of revenue. The most generous "angel" of the Communist movement during the last 20 years has been Frederick Vanderbilt Field, who is a descendant of Samuel Osgood, Postmaster General under George Washington, and of Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt. Field shared in a $3,000,000 estate at his mother's death in 1934. In 1948 and in 1952, he is reliably reported to have given in excess of $50,000 to various Communist fronts. Field joined the Communist Party in the 1930's.

Another extremely liberal "angel" of Communist causes for a number of years has been Corliss Lamont, the son of a onetime banking associate of J. P. Morgan. As chairman of the newly established Bill of

Rights Fund, Lamont allotted $1,000 for the defense of Claude Lightfoot, executive secretary of the Illinois Communist Party, who was convicted under the Smith Act in January, 1955, in Chicago.

[redacted]

The Underground

The Communist Party, USA, would be substantially ineffectual without its underground organization. It originated with the Party in 1919. The Communist underground in the United States in 1955 is the vital operative factor in continuing the Communist conspiracy in this nation. Therefore, the internal security threat it poses must not be overlooked nor minimized.

The concept of an illegal or underground apparatus paralleling the legal, open or aboveground Communist Party is basic in Communist theory and practice. The Communist Party, USA, like Communist Parties in every country, is modeled after the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

which originally came into being as an underground group. Today--as it has on other occasions in its 35-year history--the Communist Party, USA, has, on expanding its underground, reverted essentially to the same type of illegal body which was established and developed by the Bolsheviks in Russia through decades of underground activity.

Communist Parties all over the world--including the Communist Party, USA--have the same characteristics as the original Bolshevik Party in Russia: secrecy, deceit, treachery, cunning, ruthlessness, dissimulation and iron discipline coupled with great flexibility and adaptability. These characteristics are so permanently and deeply woven into the organizational fabric of Communist Parties that they form an integral part of their operational spirit.

The purpose of establishing an underground organization, of course, is to provide the Communist Party, USA, with a hard-core leadership protected by maximum security precautions designed to survive assault by the Government, and to preserve the continuity of the Party organization and its programs under the most adverse conditions.

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The extent of the organization and control by the Party underground over the open phase of the Party's activities appears to vary in

direct ratio to the pressure applied against it by the Government. This pressure can take the form of anti-Communist legislation, such as the Smith Act of 1940, the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Communist Control Act of 1954, or it can be the various Congressional or state committees investigating Communism.

In late 1947, the Communist Party, USA, was thrown into a state of near panic as a result of misinformation given publicly by a former official in the Department of Justice to the effect that the Federal Government planned to move against its members. As a result of this false alarm, the Party destroyed numerous valuable records, many of its leaders went into hiding, and its normal operations and activities were impaired and curtailed for a considerable period of time. As a consequence, the Party instituted a careful analysis of its security facilities and established long-range plans for the expansion and operation of the Party's underground organization.

The Communist Party, USA, as previously stated, has maintained an underground organization since the Party was established in 1919. Under conditions favorable to Communism it has less to do, and contracts,

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and under conditions which are unfavorable it has much to do; therefore, it expands. At all times it exists.

Following the indictment of Communist Party leaders on July 20, 1948, the Party gave serious consideration to expanding its underground organization. The commencement of the actual expansion of this national underground organization took place in June, 1951, when the United States Supreme Court upheld the convictions of eleven members of the Party's National Board who had been successfully prosecuted in 1949 under the Smith Act. As a result of this decision, the Party embarked upon a highly accelerated program to remove its key people from open Party activity and place them in the underground.

The Underground In Action

Underground action is constant, widespread, cleverly concealed and increasingly difficult to investigate.



Personnel active in the underground is generally recruited from the ranks of individuals who have previously served as open Communist Party, USA, leaders and who have been in the Communist movement for at least ten years. Upon embarking on an underground assignment, it is

customary that these functionaries sever all previous family, Party and other ties, with the exception of a highly clandestine contact with a designated individual in the open Party essential to the fulfillment of their particular assignment. It is the general practice that underground functionaries do not serve in areas where they formerly participated in open Party activities. Additionally, for security reasons, the underground functionary assumes a completely altered background and identity, supported by false identification data and any other documents necessary to sustain this false character.

These functionaries are assisted by various individuals who render services to them either as couriers, mail drops, chauffeurs, and suppliers of housing and meeting places. It appears today that all of the facilities of the Communist Party, USA, are at the beck and call of underground functionaries.

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Personnel in the underground apparatus resort to extreme security measures to maintain liaison with one another, invariably adopting elaborate precautions to avoid the possibility of detection. They have been known to resort to extensive alteration of their physical appearance and personality traits-- as Robert Thompson* did--by dyeing their hair, changing

*A member of the National Board of the Communist Party, USA.

weight, wearing mustaches and glasses, affecting a new manner of walking, and the like.

Meetings between underground leaders are arranged through intermediaries, and extreme care and caution are exercised in selecting a secure contact site. Many underground members leave their hide-outs only during the evening hours. They change their residences and automobiles frequently and take great precautions to avoid surveillance. Contacts between the underground and open leaders of the Party are limited to instances of extreme emergency. Code is regularly employed in connection with communications and records.

All personnel considered for assignment in the underground apparatus in any capacity are subjected to a thorough and comprehensive "loyalty" test. Leading underground functionaries are periodically rotated in their assignment in order to prevent detection and preclude the possibility of discontent or disaffection arising through an extensive and prolonged furtive existence.

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In addition to the active operating underground leadership, a number of other members have been assigned to a reserve underground leadership. These individuals take all the security precautions adopted

by the active underground leaders, and carefully avoid any Party activity to circumvent detection of their new identities and whereabouts.

[redacted]

The effectiveness of, and the extent to which the Communist Party, USA, underground organization has been used for illegal purposes is well demonstrated in the assistance rendered to the Communist fugitive leader, Gus Hall, in his attempt to avoid incarceration.

In October, 1949, Hall, then national secretary of the Communist Party, USA, was one of the eleven top leaders convicted under the Smith Act. He was released under $20,000 bail. Following affirmation of the constitutionality of the Smith Act by the United States Supreme Court in

June, 1951, Hall jumped his bond in New York City, and, by virtue of a special escape network which had been set up earlier, began making his way toward Mexico. In spite of elaborate security precautions surrounding his flight, Hall was located and apprehended by the FBI at Laredo, Texas, in October, 1951.

Hall was traveling under an alias when arrested. His physical appearance had changed during his four months in the underground; his hair and eyebrows had been dyed dark brown, his mustache shaved off, sideburns grown, and several warts removed from his face and neck.

Another example of the utilization of the underground apparatus occurred in connection with the flight from justice of Robert Thompson, another member of the National Board of the Communist Party, USA, who had been convicted along with Gus Hall. Thompson had also jumped his bond in New York City at the same time as Hall.

Full resources of the Communist underground, particularly those on the west coast, were placed at Thompson's disposal, but he was located and apprehended by the FBI, together with four other underground functionaries, in August, 1953, at a cabin in the High Sierras near Twain Harte, California.

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At the time of his arrest, Thompson was using the alias, "John Francis Brennan," and had on his person, among other things, a birth certificate, driver's and fishing licenses from several states, and a social security card made out in Brennan's name. It was later ascertained that the real John Francis Brennar, now deceased, was a New Yorker who had been a Communist Party, USA, member and had fought with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War.

As Hall had done, Thompson had materially changed his physical appearance since being a fugitive: his hair was dyed a strawberry blond and he had grown a mustache dyed the same color, his eyebrows were dyed a reddish brown, and he had gained some 35 pounds in weight.

Infiltration Tactics

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The main tactic which the Communist Party, USA, is now using and, barring unusual developments, will continue to use throughout 1955 is the tactic of infiltration. This tactic is directed specifically toward: (1) political organizations; (2) labor unions; (3) strategic industry; (4) the press; (5) the entertainment field; (6) government (local, county, state and federal); (7) education; (8) church groups; and (9) fraternal, charitable, literary, cultural and scientific societies. A few examples will be set forth here.

In the field of political activity, the Communist Party, USA, largely discontinued its support of the third-party movement after the 1952 national elections. Now, instead of supporting the Progressive Party, which it originally hailed as "an inescapable historic necessity," the Party is instructing its members to infiltrate our major political parties. Significantly, without the support of the Communist Party, USA, neither the Independent Progressive Party of California nor the American Labor Party in New York gained sufficient votes in the 1954 elections to guarantee their appearance on the ballots of these states in future elections.

In the trade-union field a similar situation is evident. During 1953-54, the Communist Party, USA, stepped up its efforts to infiltrate the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). It also re-emphasized to its members the importance of its colonization program, which has been described previously, and selected the vital automotive industry as its principal industrial concentration target for infiltration. At the present time, it is urging the Communist-dominated unions which were expelled from the CIO during 1949 and 1950 to try to merge with unions in the CIO and AFL. In this connection, it is

interesting to note that, in January, 1955, the Communist-dominated International Fur and Leather Workers' Union voted to merge with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America (AFL).

Significantly too, the Communist Party, USA, praised the recent announcement of the AFL-CIO merger agreement as " a great renaissance of the trade unions" and "a step of extraordinary significance." At the same time, however, it took great pains to point out that the "left and progressive forces" (i. e., Communist-dominated unions) should be included in this new federation in order "to shape and model it into more constructive channels."

During the past few years, the Communist Party, USA, has also given considerable publicity in its propaganda organs to the possibility of "peaceful coexistence" between the United States and the Soviet Union. This is, of course, standard Communist propaganda which is periodically emphasized by the Soviet Union, whenever it needs a breathing spell or when it is trying to divide and disarm its opponents. And, as in the past, each time this facet of Communist propaganda is resurrected by the Soviet Union, it is dutifully stressed by the Communist Party, USA.

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However, at the present time, in view of the destructive potentialities of a nuclear war, the desire for a lasting world peace has a universal emotional appeal. But, while Communist propaganda highlights the general theme of "peaceful coexistence," it neglects to specify that the peace which it favors can be achieved only by the complete capitulation of the non-Communist world to every demand of the Soviet Union.

In addition to "peaceful coexistence" being a tactic in its own right related to united front movements, it is being used as a medium for creating an atmosphere which is conducive to infiltration methods generally.

Nor has the Party's infiltration tactic been restricted to the political and industrial fields. It has repeatedly emphasized to its members the importance of infiltrating all "right-led" (i.e., non-Communist) organizations: civic, fraternal, educational, racial, religious, cultural, et cetera, in the hope that its influence will be felt in covertly determining the policies and programs of these non- Communist groups.

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The reason for this shift in Party tactics is apparent. The steady deterioration in international relations between the United States

and the Soviet Union since the end of World War II has placed the Communist Party, USA, in an unenviable position. Since the Party offers its unswerving allegiance and unconditional support to the USSR, it has been required to defend every instance of postwar Soviet aggression and to condemn every measure which our Nation has adopted to strengthen itself and our allies against further Soviet territorial aggrandizement.

However, by so doing, the Communist Party, USA, has largely alienated itself from the vast majority of our loyal citizens and now finds itself in an isolated sectarian position with its influence restricted for the most part to its own members and sympathizers. The Party's current tactic of infiltrating non-Communist organizations is largely motivated by the realization that its present position is untenable, and that it must break out of its present isolation, if it expects to extend its influence beyond the confines of its own membership. This conclusion was a vital factor in the formulation of the new program of the Communist Party, USA.

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The Party's Present "Program"

Closely allied with these Communist infiltration tactics is the "Program" which is presently being offered to the American public by the Communist Party, USA. A million copies of this document, in both its initial draft and the final version, have been circulated by the Party since March 1954. In brief, the Party's analysis claims that our Nation is faced with the threat of a severe economic depression; that our present foreign policy is leading toward a world-wide atomic war; that there is a growing trend toward fascism in the United States; and that minority groups are still subject to discrimination and segregation.

The Party offers an easy "solution" to all these alleged impending crises under a five-point program which calls for

1. Economic measures relating to lower personal taxes, et cetera, designed to increase the purchasing power of the average citizen and curtail the profits of "the trusts."

2. Government spending "for human welfare and not warfare," relating to increased unemployment benefits, government aid to education, federal health programs, et cetera.

3. Increased trade with the Soviet Union, Communist China and the European satellite nations.

4. An end to "political arrests" and amnesty for all imprisoned Communist leaders.

5. Full economic, political and social equality for Negroes.

Upon analysis, the specious nature of the "Program" offered by the Communist Party, USA, becomes apparent. The principal developments in international relations are glibly ignored in general terms and "Wall Street" is blamed for our "aggressive" foreign policy, which is allegedly responsible for all international tension. Yet it is over these very issues that the wide cleavage between the Communist Party, USA, and the rest of the Nation has developed.

The emphasis in the Party's present program is on domestic affairs, such as, higher wages, lower personal taxes, civil rights, equal rights for minority groups, et cetera, all issues on which the Party's program of immediate demands coincide with the legitimate interests of large numbers of loyal citizens and non-Communist groups. What the Party hopes to do is to persuade non-Communist groups to "unite" with it to achieve these demands. And, if the Communists' offers of support are accepted, then the Party can concentrate on subverting these non-Communist groups and manipulating them to its own advantage.

The Party, of course, is not interested in improving the living and working conditions of the average citizen. By ostensibly championing these immediate demands, or reforms, the Party hopes to foster the illusion

that it is a liberal, progressive, enlightened humanitarian group which is acting in the interests of the large majority of the American people. If its efforts are successful, it will have gone far toward surrounding itself with an aura of legitimacy, to which it is in no way entitled. And, under certain conditions, it could be successful with this tactic, a success which contains within it the seeds of serious trouble for any anti-Communist program.

This, then, is the Party's program in 1955. Obviously it is having difficulties applying this program because of the many setbacks it has received in the past few years. Despite the Party's present difficulties, it looks to the future with optimism.

The Future

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For the Communist Party, USA, the present is black but the future bright. Therefore, the Party is not dissolving itself or going out of existence. In fact, the exact opposite is true. The Party has consistently affirmed its determination to maintain its legal status and, if this is denied, to exist completely underground. At the same time, it is modifying its tactics in an effort to emerge from the untenable position in which it now finds itself.

The Party has shrewdly offered the American public a program which, on its surface, would ordinarily have considerable appeal to large segments of our society. It is a very intelligent maneuver. The Party has afforded its program widespread dissemination among non-Communists who are influential in molding public opinion. One real menace of Communism in the United States in 1955 consists of the fact that many unsuspecting citizens may accept the Party's program at its face value without realizing that it merely represents a change in the Party's tactics, and does not imply that the Party has abandoned its goal of eventually overthrowing our Government. This danger is current despite all that has been done to expose the true nature of Communism. The memories of people are short.

Realizing full well that no organization which is publicly recognized as Communist-dominated can make any effective appeal to the American public, the present tactics of the Communist Party, USA, still in existence are, in a sense, a tribute to the fanatic loyalty and devotion which it somehow engenders in its members. Few things would give the Communist Party, USA, more comfort than a widespread underestimation of the menace which it presents to the internal security of our Nation in 1955.

COMMUNIST INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

Background

In this study the phrase "Communist intelligence menace"is used in the broad sense to include the gathering of information, overtly and covertly, by representatives of Communist nations in the United States. Also included in this phrase will be the services which the American Communists are able to render to the intelligence network of Communist nations.

This is not a new development. Communist intelligence has been a menace to the United States in varying degrees since the establishment of the Communist Party, USA, in 1919. It increased and became more systematic with the establishment of the Amtorg Trading Corporation in the United States in 1924 and the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States in 1933.

In 1955, Soviet Russia continues the undisputed role of directing the main Communist intelligence operations throughout the world. While these operations are directed against all non-Communist nations, they are aimed in particular at the United States which is the primary target. This fact was well borne out in 1954 by the statements of two former Communist intelligence agents, previously identified with Soviet Russia's M.V.D. (Ministry of Internal Affairs),

which in substance said: The United States is the greatest enemy of the Soviet Union. The United States must be destroyed.

We should, therefore, expect continuous and increasing Communist intelligence assaults to be made against this Nation. They will be successful to the extent that our internal security program is weak.

The strength of the Communist intelligence threat cannot be effectively measured in the simple terms of a statistical potency. Instead, an appreciation of the Communist intelligence threat may be visualized more exactly in terms of its very existence, its effective operational media, its objectives and potentialities. In these forms, the threat then may be measured in terms of the corresponding security and counterintelligence efforts necessary to identify and neutralize these activities.

We all know, of course, that there exist in the Soviet Union highly specialized and formal organizations designed to conduct foreign intelligence operations in various countries, including the United States. Some Soviet representatives in the United States have been and are being identified with a specific Soviet intelligence organization. Still others, although engaged in espionage or related intelligence activities in the United States, have not been so identified. Regardless of their identification or

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lack of identification with a specific Soviet intelligence organization, these Communist representatives have consistently engaged in offensive and defensive intelligence operations in this country as was previously indicated by the phrase "Communist intelligence menace." These representatives came not only from Soviet Russia but also from the satellite nations. These nations engage in both overt and covert intelligence operations against the United States.

While formal liaison on a field level between the intelligence agents of Soviet Russia and those of the satellite nations is not easily or completely identifiable, there is evidence of this relationship dominated, of course, by agents of Soviet Russia.

Irrespective of the relationship, the satellite nations are Communist nations. They do have intelligence organizations and these organizations are directed against the non-Communist governments, and specifically against the United States, with the same deadliness of purpose as are the intelligence organizations of Soviet Russia. Therefore, they must be included in our national security program and in our estimates of enemy intelligence potentialities.

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An initial step toward ever more concrete conceptions of this foreign Communist intelligence menace is the identification of the avenues through which Communist instrumentalities flow.

In general, foreign Communist intelligence collection activities in the United States are of two categories. The first, and currently the most frequently identified, operations are those existing under the protective cover of Soviet "legal" representation in the United States. The second, which is concerned with methods of operation not necessitating "legal" cover or protection, is considered more in terms of existing potentialities (but not exclusively so) to be activated under conditions of emergency or substantial change. However, the second category may also be considered as a coexistent supplement to the first.

Objectives

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The objectives of foreign Communist intelligence operations in the United States have been numerous and varied. With this fact in mind, it is necessary in 1955 to be alert to such Communist intelligence objectives as: (1) atomic energy development and installations;

(2) scientific research generally; (3) Army, Navy and Air Force defensive and offensive installations; (4) coastal and Air Force safeguards; (5) harbor control; (6) radar developments and installations; (7) industrial and armed services secrets; (8) intelligence agencies of the Government; (9) embassies and legations of non-Communist nations; (10) foreign policy; (11) location and extent of important natural resources; (12) transportation arrangements and efficiency; (13) trade relations with non-Communist nations; and (14) location, size and type of defense plants along with the details of contracts now held with the armed services.

It may be said that the foreign Communist intelligence agents in the United States have in the past and do in the present make manifest an insatiable desire for intelligence information almost unbelievable in scope. It is mass gathering combined with selective concentration.

If the foreign Communist intelligence agents now operating in the United States are allowed to reach their objectives for want of adequate national security, the consequences can be ultimately disastrous for the United States.

The carefully and shrewdly formulated plans of foreign Communist intelligence leaders are both short range and long range by nature. Nothing

is overlooked; nothing pertinent to their success is minimized in importance. To cope successfully with this Communist intelligence assault now being made on the United States and to prevent them from reaching their objectives require a corresponding national security program far more carefully planned, maintained and executed than is the hostile multiple-faceted attack now being directed against us by Communist nations.

Overt Operational Techniques

Foreign Communist intelligence agents operating in the United States today have a wide range of "legal" covers to facilitate their entry, residence and operations in the United States. In this country, they have "legal" cover in assignments to the embassies, legations, offices of the military, naval, and air attaches, delegations to the United Nations organization, employees of the secretariat or otherwise accredited to the United Nations, plus special delegations or commissions authorized to enter the United States. Variations of "legal" cover are supplied those persons or agencies registered with the Attorney General of the United States under the provisions of the Foreign

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Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended. Typical among the latter category are foreign Communists in this country under the cover of employment by the Amtorg Trading Corporation or the Telegraph Agency of the USSR (TASS).

These "legal" covers are of such a nature as to provide overt and direct accessibility to specific types of intelligence or intelligence-producing sources. Under the "license" of their overt occupations, the foreign Communists have entree to responsible reporters, businessmen, students, persons accredited to the United Nations organization, diplomats and professional military men.

Their intelligence collection activities have not been limited to these fields of entree. Among the data available to the Soviets for overt and direct utilization are those innumerable sources which are easily accessible to them or other persons generally in the United States. An examination of Soviet activities in the United States, during a recent period, indicated a heavy concentration on intelligence media of this nature. A brief consideration of the nature of these media is helpful in evaluating our need for effective internal security.

One method frequently utilized for overt and direct acquisition of intelligence is attendance at conventions, speeches, lectures, and demonstrations. This involved such intelligence collection activities as photographing military equipment on display during "Armed Forces Day" demonstrations; studying the many public technical and industrial exhibits; witnessing talks and conversations or participating in study groups relating to meteorology, geology, mechanical engineering, electronic industries and politics.

Other foreign Communists utilize a variation of procedures for obtaining this openly available data. For example, they take memberships in organizations such as the Society of Automotive Engineers, American Meteorological Society, Arctic Institute of North America, American Society of Naval Engineers and the American Rocket Society. This membership technique gives them the privileges of attending certain conferences and lectures as well as obtaining specialized research and reference material available to the more select organizational membership.

The Library

Both governmental and nongovernmental sources have produced for foreign Communist acquisition a mass of publications, charts, maps and films. This overt acquisition has been accomplished by direct contacts of

Communist representatives with numerous sources of this data or indirectly through such a concern as the Four Continent Book Corporation. This concern, registered as an agent of Soviet and Soviet satellite principals under the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, has been successful in obtaining for foreign Communist purposes a large volume of public source data.

These direct acquisition efforts are sometimes identified in terms of a special inquiry regarding specific products or developments in which existing public source material may be inadequate. This technique may be supplemented by the actual purchase of the finished product of interest.

In connection with this overt and direct phase of their intelligence collection activities, the Soviets have met varying degrees of resistance at the source. This resistance has been handicapped in its effectiveness by tactics utilized to blur the true identities of the various Communist representatives engaged in these activities. If these evasive tactics failed, there remained another avenue, the covert operational techniques, for attaining their intelligence objectives.

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Covert Operational Techniques

Another parallel for the Communist intelligence activities in the United States under "legal" cover is the utilization of covert operational techniques. Some of the "legal" Communist representatives in the United States are utilizing both overt and covert operational parallels.

The utilization of covert techniques serves to counter and evade the voluntary resistance of intelligence-producing sources and governmental regulations in the United States. At the same time it multiplies the procedural difficulties for the Communist intelligence agencies. As the Communist efforts become more clandestine, our security and counterintelligence operations necessarily become more complex and far-reaching.

As an initial means for achieving operational security, the foreign Communist representatives seek to develop means to insulate their identifications with intelligence-producing sources. The Communist representatives accomplished this by developing substitute agents for themselves capable of securing the desired information. This end is achieved by "spotting," identifying, examining, developing and recruiting persons in the United States to serve the Communist intelligence network.

Law Library

Historically, members of the Communist Party, USA, have been a rich source of recruits for foreign Communist intelligence in the United States. However, other ideological recruits outside of the scope of Party membership are also considered fertile potentialities. For example, one former Communist intelligence agent singled out the members of Communist front organizations* as being good prospects

*It is to be noted that there are in the United States in July, 1955, 270-odd reputed Communist front organizations, extending from the local to national and international levels.

for recruitment. Among the motivation and control factors currently utilized in the United States in connection with recruitment are those of a mercenary nature. Money or related forms of gain are being presently stressed.

With these intelligence developments resulting in the broadening of the recruitment potentiality from the positive indicators of the ideological field to the negative indicators of weaknesses in character and patriotism, counterintelligence is faced with a potential that is not rigidly characterized nor so easily identified.

After a suitable recruit has been developed, the Soviets organize appropriate operational procedures as a means of protecting the security of this particular operation. A simple post card with a commercial advertisement, a chalk mark on a fence or a guardrail along a road, an automobile parked at a particular location, are but a few of a maze of precautionary or security tactics utilized for signaling messages relating to covert intelligence contacts. The difficulties of coping with these techniques are obvious.

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Personal covert intelligence contacts have been identified with many innocent surroundings and circumstances. Meetings take place in

restaurants or hotel dining rooms, city streets, isolated areas, automobiles, hotel and building lobbies, movies, railroad terminals, residences or establishments of foreign Communists in this country, and the residences and business addresses of their local agents. The routine circumstances or locales do not invite suspicion. However, to make the actual transfer of intelligence data secure, these Communist intelligence representatives have in many instances utilized more evasive means. An empty beer can by a fire hydrant, a hole in the ground in an isolated area, or an auto parked on a city street--all these may contain intelligence data on film or in raw form. The technique of an agent depositing the intelligence data in a cache, to be later picked up by the foreign Communist representative, complicates the identification of this representative with his agent in any particular intelligence transfer.

Many other varied methods for evasive or more secure communication of messages between the Soviet representative and his agent are used in intelligence work in this nation. The indirect procedures of "mail drops" or "signal points" are a part of these covert operational activities. An "innocent" third party may serve as insulation against identifying the relationship of a Soviet and his agent by means of the physical

communication of messages between them. A mark on a certain page of a public telephone directory or a wad of gum housing a matchhead and placed in a particular location are among the more innocuous techniques serving to signal a message between the foreign Communist representative and his agent.

The meeting patterns of covert foreign Communist intelligence in the United States during the past few years fall into two general types. First, there are the techniques of direct personal relationship attended by innocuous circumstances; for example, the casual meeting in a restaurant, building lobby or on a city street. Second, there are the precautionary and evasive tactics which attend more suspect circumstances; for example, passing of intelligence by microfilm deposited in a cache.

"Illegal" Intelligence Parallels

Although at present the "illegal" intelligence parallels may be considered in terms of supplementing the "legal cover" parallels, their full import may be activated under circumstances in which the "legal" operations can no longer effectively operate in the United States. From one former Communist agent of the M. V. D., it was learned that a plan had been

devised to send "illegal" agents into the United States from non-Communist countries. The underlying assumption of this plan was that the opportunities to send "illegal" agents into the United States were many and good. The belief existed that such agents could be found among all nationalities. This included displaced persons and defectees from Soviet Russia as well as satellite countries.

It was further learned that Soviet Russia would make great efforts and exhibit patience in this field. It was prepared to initiate a "long-term" program. Some of the "illegal" agents described in this plan would serve as "sleepers," who would remain inactive for many years, if expedient. Others would collect their intelligence in the United States and then go to a foreign country to make contact with the appropriate foreign Communist representative.

The Communist "sleeper" threat in the United States cannot be defined accurately in absolute or final terms unless a national emergency exists, as a result of which the full intelligence potential of the enemy is suddenly activated against the United States. Quite clearly, the Communist "sleeper" threat is an intelligence factor which may cause a sudden and drastic increase in counterintelligence requirements of our national security

program. The absence of an emergency in a "sleeper" intelligence operation presents a latent danger which is extremely difficult to identify completely with Communist representatives and goals. Therefore, it is equally difficult to neutralize at this time.

Intelligence Role of American Communists

Communists throughout the world have a common goal, namely, world domination of Communism. They work together toward this end. It is only natural, therefore, that dedicated, professional American Communists are either potential or actual intelligence agents for the Communist empire directed by Soviet Russia. No evaluation of foreign Communist intelligence activities in the United States can be made without recognizing the role played in this work by the Communist Party, USA.

In the first place, its very existence is an aid to foreign Communist intelligence work. Added to this are the many and varied services which the Communist Party, USA, has rendered in the past, can now and in the future render to foreign Communist intelligence. These services among other things relate to: (1) recruitment, (2) liaison, (3) courier work, (4) hide-outs, (5) "mail drops," (6) photographic equipment,

(7) transportation, (8) library assistance, (9) "covers" and many other phases of intelligence work. It is vitally necessary, therefore, to recognize the importance of the Communist Party, USA, when we consider and evaluate the strength, effectiveness and menace of the total Communist intelligence operations directed against the United States in 1955. The Party has been involved in numerous intelligence operations and in cases of national importance. Directly or indirectly, it has had some bearing upon almost every phase of the subject discussed in this study.

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THE LOYALTY-SECURITY PROGRAM

Prior to 1939

The question of the loyalty of persons employed by the Federal Government has existed for some time. During the early years of the Civil War, an inquiry was made by a committee of the House of Representatives into the loyalty of clerks and other persons employed by the Government. On April 7, 1917, during World War I, the President of the United States issued an executive order authorizing department heads and heads of independent offices to remove "forthwith" any employee when there were grounds for believing "that the retention of such employee would be inimical to the public welfare by reason of his conduct, sympathies, or utterances, or because of other reasons growing out of the war."

With the restoration of peace, the loyalty issue was de-emphasized. Subsequent to World War I, inquiry into such matters as whether an applicant for Federal employment was a member of the Communist Party was generally considered to be contrary to the provisions

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of Civil Service Rule I, promulgated in 1884, which barred inquiry into the political or religious opinions or affiliations of applicants for Federal employment.

1939-1941

In 1939, when war clouds were again forming in Europe, steps were taken to bar disloyal persons from Federal employment. On August 2, 1939, the original Hatch Act was enacted for the stated purpose of preventing "pernicious political activity." One section of this act prohibited Federal employees from holding membership in any political party or organization "advocating the overthrow of our constitutional form of government." By Executive Order No. 8587, dated November 7, 1940, the interpretation of Civil Service Rule I was changed to permit inquiry into membership in political parties or organizations when such membership "constitutes by law a disqualification for Government employment." Congress added to certain appropriation bills a prohibition against payment of salaries to persons advocating, or belonging to organizations advocating, the overthrow of our Government by

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force and violence. Authority was granted to certain sensitive agencies to summarily remove employees in the interest of national security without regard to the usual provisions governing removal.

World War II

Then came Pearl Harbor and World War II. In 1942, the President specified that reasonable doubt as to loyalty was a ground upon which a person could and would be disqualified for Federal employment. By Executive Order No. 9300, dated February 5, 1943, the Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations was formed to serve as an advisory and co-ordinating agency in matters pertaining to the investigation and disposition of complaints of subversive activity on the part of employees of the executive branch of the Federal Government.

Communists Capitalize on War Situation

The American Communists seized quickly the unparalleled opportunities given them by the grave war situation to infiltrate strategic areas in our social order. They had been applying infiltration tactics in one form or another since 1919 but now, because of the perilous conditions

prevailing and the expedient war alliance with Soviet Russia, they could make progress unknown to them before. Government, industry, the press, the entertainment field and education were their targets.

Doxey A. Wilkerson, a Federal employee since 1935, denied Communist Party, USA, membership when interviewed under oath on February 19, 1942, although investigation had disclosed evidence confirming such membership. On June 20, 1943, Wilkerson publicly announced his resignation from the Government to become a Communist Party organizer. He later became a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA. Carl Aldo Marzani, a Government employee since 1942, also denied Communist Party membership when interviewed under oath. Here, again, investigation had disclosed evidence of such membership on the part of Marzani. On January 17, 1947, he said he had never been a Communist Party member. On May 22, 1947, he was found guilty by a Federal court of making false and fraudulent statements in this regard. The shocking revelations of Elizabeth Bentley, Whittaker Chambers, and Igor Gouzenko further disclosed the extent of the treasonable activities of Communist agents and their sympathizers in infiltrating the Federal Government.

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Continued Efforts to Penetrate Government and Action Taken

The continued efforts of American Communists to infiltrate the Government following the end of World War II required vigorous action. Executive Order No. 9835, issued on March 21, 1947, called for a loyalty investigation to be made concerning each person entering the civilian employment of any department or agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government. If not already done, the names, with sufficient identifying data, of all incumbent employees were required to be submitted by each department or agency to be checked against the records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. If information indicating possible disloyal activities was uncovered during this check, an appropriate investigation was to be made. This order was based on recommendations of the Temporary Commission on Employee Loyalty, which outlined a plan for assessing loyalty and judging other qualifications for employment. In introducing the Executive Order, the President of the United States pointed out that every Government employee "is endowed with a measure of trusteeship over the democratic processes which are the heart and sinew of the United States"; that it was

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of vital importance that all Federal employees be of "complete and unswerving loyalty" to this country; and that the presence within the Government of any disloyal or subversive persons "constitutes a threat to our democratic processes."

The disclosures in the Klaus Fuchs case in England, the confession of Harry Gold in the United States and the indictment in August, 1950, of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for conspiracy to commit espionage, brought into clear focus the extent of the damage inflicted upon this country through the treacherous activities of disloyal persons. On August 26, 1950, Public Law No. 733 was approved, authorizing the heads of eleven Government agencies to dismiss employees, when deemed necessary in the interest of national security, and empowering the President to extend such authority to any other Federal agency if necessary.

The President, by Executive Order No. 10450, dated April 27, 1953, set out procedures for the administration of a new Federal employee security program to cover all civilian employees in the executive branch of the Government, and extended the provisions of Public Law No. 733 to all departments and agencies of the Government.

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The purpose of the new program was to insure that all employees in the executive branch of the Government were "reliable, trustworthy, of good conduct and character, and of complete and unswerving loyalty to the United States."

On July 30, 1953, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee issued an interim report on "Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments," as a result of hearings conducted on the subject by that body. The subcommittee found that the Soviet international organization had carried on a successful and important penetration of the United States Government, extending from the lower ranks to top-level policy and operating positions, and noted that in years past the general pattern of this penetration had been into those agencies concerned with economic recovery, then into agencies concerned with the war effort, then into agencies concerned with foreign policy and postwar planning--always moving to the focal point of national concern.

The Security Need of 1955

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In 1955 menacing Communist efforts to infiltrate the Government and other areas of our social order of significance to them continue.

Also, representatives of foreign Communist nations in the United States have not ceased their own efforts to build intelligence networks for the purpose of penetrating our Government in order to have illegal access to our Confidential, Secret and Top Secret material upon which so much of our national security and even survival as a Nation depends. Therefore, a paramount need in 1955 is the continuance of a highly comprehensive and efficient loyalty-security program. This need is especially obvious in view of the steady progress which Communism is making throughout the world with its attendant impact upon the United States.

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WORLD PERSPECTIVE

Communism is a world problem. Therefore, the menace of Communism inside the United States in 1955 must be evaluated in terms of the menace of Communism outside the United States. The two are inseparable. They are alike in essence and purpose. The one serves the other.

The Communist Empire is no longer a fancy, it is a fact. Over one-fourth of the world's area and one-third of the world's population are now within its grasp. Russia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Albania, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, North Korea, North Viet-Nam and the vast and potentially Herculean nation of China, with its influence ranging throughout all of Asia, now constitute the tremendous land mass and increasing population of this Empire. Approximately 800,000,000 people come under its influence. Membership in Communist Parties around the world can be estimated at 25,000,000. The leader of this Communist Empire, Soviet Russia, has the largest standing army in the world, the second largest navy, and a powerful, growing air force. Other Communist nations within the Empire have their own military forces to make up the aggregate. Supplementing the pctency

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of land, people and the military within the Empire are Communist Parties existing, legally or illegally, in all the major non-Communist nations of the world and in almost all of the minor ones. Serving these national organizations are the international Communist front groups such as the World Federation of Trade Unions, International Union of Students, World Federation of Democratic Youth, Women's International Democratic Federation and the World Peace Council and its affiliates.

The very nature of Communism is international. The historical record speaks clearly on this point. Communism has not been and cannot be contained within the boundary lines of a city, state or nation.

The First, Second and Third Communist Internationals, along with the present Communist Information Bureau, are all natural manifestations of its international nature. Communism ignores all boundaries. It pushes beyond national limits to penetrate hemispheres, continuing across hemispheres to spread throughout the world, surely and not too slowly. Its present growth, significantly, has been attained within the relatively short span of one hundred years and most of it within the past thirty-eight years. In the light of this startling achievement the confidence of the American Communists in the future can be understood. It impels them to make

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predictions which to us seem absurd. For example, William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, in 1949 dedicated his book "To my Great-Grandson Joseph Manley Kolko Who Will Live in a Communist United States."

This dedication is to us ludicrous and delusive. Yet, Mr. Foster and his hard-core followers believe intensely in the soundness of this prediction. They believe with equal intensity in Mr. Foster's earlier and unequivocal prediction. Mr. Foster said:

> "By the term 'abolition' of capitalism we mean its overthrow in open struggle..."
>
> "The capitalists will not give up of their own accord; nor can they be talked, bought or voted out of power. To believe otherwise would be a deadly fatalism, disarming and paralyzing the workers in their struggle. No ruling class ever surrendered to a rising subject class without a last ditch open fight. To put an end to the capitalist system will require a consciously revolutionary act by the great toiling masses, led by the Communist party; that is, the conquest of the State power, the destruction of the State machine created by the ruling class, and the organization of the proletarian dictatorship...."
>
> "...Thus, for the United States as well as other countries, the Soviet Union is a plain indicator of the society that is to be, taking into account minor variations for special conditions in the several lands. It foreshadows the broad lines along which the future Soviet America will develop...."

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"The American revolution, when the workers have seized power, will develop even more swiftly in all its phases than has the Russian revolution. This is because in the United States objective conditions are more ripe for revolution than they were in old Russia ...."

"The American Soviet government will be organized along the broad lines of the Russian Soviets ...."

"The American Soviet government will join with the other Soviet governments in a world Soviet Union. There will also be, very probably, some form of continental union. The American revolution will doubtless carry with it all those countries of the three Americas that have not previously accomplished the revolution."

"The American Soviet government will be the dictatorship of the proletariat .... Under the dictatorship all the capitalist parties -- Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, etc.--will be liquidated, the Communist party functioning alone as the Party of the toiling masses. Likewise, will be dissolved all other organizations that are political props of the bourgeois rule, including chambers of commerce, employers' associations, rotary clubs, American Legion, Y. M. C. A., and such fraternal orders as the Masons, Odd Fellows, Elks, Knights of Columbus, etc."

It is the intense belief in this prediction, ridiculous though it may appear to the reader, which in 1955 furnishes the American Communists with perennial motivation. Emanating from this motivation are the activities of the American Communists which coupled with the strength and tactics of world Communism make imperative a continued national security program for the United States.

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